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EN. GRAHAM'S STAR WARS

The one-man lobby to fill space with weaponry

By George Lardner Jr.

ON'T PANIC if you hear a one-megaton nuclear bomb is headed your way. Lt. Gen. Daniel O. Graham, U.S. Army (Ret.), has some advice for you.

Walk briskly for about 59 minutes, the general says, 4.2 miles to be precise, then hide behind a lilac bush. Do that, and "you will not be hurt."

Graham relishes such advisories, which tend, he observes, to drive "the antinuke people" wild. How one would know where ground zero is so one could be sure to be walking away from it rather than toward it is not explained, but never mind. The blunt and raspy-voiced Graham likes to command attention, especially if it leaves the other side sputtering.

The former chief of the Defense Intelligence Agency, a Pentagon version of the CIA, Graham has been doing a fair amount of that as director of High Frontier Inc., an organization dedicated to the proposition that America can be made "safe from attack by Soviet nuclear missiles."

Graham and High Frontiersmen foresee a network of space-based weapons to knock out incoming Soviet missiles. It would replace the longstanding doctrine of mutual assured destruction, which relies on the presumed certainty of an American nuclear counterattack to deter the Soviets from launching their missiles in the first place.

The project, in the form of President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative, sometimes known as Star Wars, is moving forward, less speedily than Graham would like, but still at a controversial, multi-billion-dollar clip. The Soviets, in turn, have cried foul, charging that an antimissile shield would simply tempt the United States to launch a crippling first strike without having to worry about effective retaliation.

Graham, a West Pointer who began in the Quartermaster Corps, has been claiming much of the credit for the Star Wars initiative since President Reagan announced it in a speech in 1983.

"We [at High Frontier] are the people who caused the president to sound off a year ago in favor of a strategic defense initiative—that is, defense in space," he told the Washington Times in a 1984 interview. "We went public in March 1982 and by March 1983 we had the president of the United States going our way."

Such modesty is typical for 60year-old Danny Graham, who, when asked at a recent courtroom appearance how many stars he used to wear, shot back: "Six. Three on each shoulder."

Other SDI advocates, as well as critics, say Graham overstates his importance, but most agree he played a significant role in promoting the idea when he was a Reagan campaign adviser in 1980.

"His most important contribution was that he, in fact, put it on the public agenda," said Phil Truluck, executive vice president of the Heritage Foundation, a leading bastion of pro-SDI thought. "He got us interested in it. And we've had many meetings at Heritage on the subject."

A prominent SDI opponent, John Pike of the Federation of American Scientists, agrees: "High Frontier has probably done more to create some public constituency for this program than anyone else. A lot of discussion has focused on why the administration wanted to do this. High Frontier was instrumental in letting them think they could get away with it."

An early supporter of what he calls a "technological end run on the Soviets," Graham formed High Frontier as a nonprofit organization in September 1981 and around the same

time, he says, he raised some \$500,000 in private funds, "mostly from individuals."

Graham had been on the staff of the conservative American Security Council, headed by John Fisher, but Fisher, Graham said, "really didn't think much of this idea." Graham found a more receptive audience, not to mention "a tax-free pocket," at the Heritage Foundation. "So the checks were made out to Heritage, but they really had nothing—little—to do with it," Graham said.

By March 1982, Graham had put together a team of scientists, engineers and retired military officers to produce a 175-page study under the Heritage imprimatur proposing a "layered defense" in which nonnuclear weapons shot from satellites in space and from ground bases in this country would destroy incoming Soviet missiles.

Graham maintains it could all be put into place in about 10 years for about \$40 billion, using largely off-the-shelf technology. In one mailing last year, he asserted that his "shot-gun satellites," firing clouds of high-velocity pellets and deployable in five or six years, "alone would wipe out 80 percent of any mass ICBM attack while it is still over Soviet territory."

Critics have been astounded. Not even the Pentagon's Strategic Defense Initiative Organization is contemplating such results. The administration has its eyes on longer range research and more exotic technologies.

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